THE LAND OF GOSHEN

AND THE EXODUS

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THE LAND OF GOSHEN

AND

THE EXODUS

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THE LAND OF GOSHEN AND THE EXODUS

BY

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WITH TWO MAPS AND FOUR PLATES

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THE LAND OF GOSHEN

AND

THE EXODUS

INTRODUCTION

It may perhaps be becoming in me to begin with a personal explanation to justify or excuse my boldness in venturing without a pass upon ground to which Egyptologists lay claim. I have trespassed once before, and alone, within their property along the shores and upon the waters of Lake Mœris. I mention *alone*, because I was then tenderly warned that, if I came again, I should do well to bring in my company "a man of peace who knows Greek and who has studied Egyptian antiquities;" to show me, I presume, the way along the beaten track, and to keep me from making little excursions off it on my own account. But I do not refer to the precedent of my previous act of trespass as my present justification, nor as an answer to the inevitable suggestion that if the blind lead the blind, shall they not both fall into the ditch. To this suggestion, if any feel inclined to make it, I reply that, though my own eyes are not

trained to see so far into the past with such slight illumination of the distant objects as suffices to reveal their forms to the antiquary, yet I have sat at the feet of those who have eyes to see and who have recorded what they have seen in their valuable works, of which a list is given at the end of this Introduction.

Moreover, I have stood before the Pharaohs of the past (or what is left of them) and the Rulers of Egypt of the present, and I have gone throughout all the land of Egypt.

Still, notwithstanding all this, I know that I shall be sternly bidden to put my shoes from off my feet. *That much* I will gladly do to show my great respect for the proprietors, so long as I am allowed to promenade about the property with my bare feet, a condition which will keep me on the smooth road of Egyptological orthodoxy and prevent me wandering into the pathless thicket of original speculations.

Now, I wonder if I shall be misunderstood when I explain that I have put together the story of the following pages for the perusal of those ordinary mortals who are as ignorant of Egyptology as I am myself; and that, in doing so, I consider that I possess an advantage over the learned student of antiquity of much the same sort that a thief has over the honest man when set to catch a thief. In the Introduction to Cameron's *Egypt in the Nineteenth Century* there is this passage—"the success of the writer will largely depend on his guessing the happy medium of his reader's information, on availing him-

self of that average, and applying it at the right moment and in the proper way." The Egyptologist either writes for his brother Egyptologist, or is too complimentary to the general public in estimating the "happy medium" too high.

And that is my excuse for intruding upon holy ground. I do it for the sake of the exoterics. In the country of the blind, the one-eyed man is king.

And another excuse is this, that during the past few years it has been my duty from time to time to inspect the land of Goshen as an irrigation officer, so that I am intimate with the topography. It was this connection with the scene of the story, which aroused afresh my interest in the subject of the Exodus and the preceding sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, an interest which all, who are brought up on the Bible, have born in them during their early childhood. A knowledge of the ground is an advantage in estimating the amount of probability that any speculative part of the history may possess, and in helping the mind to picture the past events that are established as known facts. It was knowledge of the soundings that gave me sufficient daring, on the occasion of my first trespass, to embark upon the waters of Lake Mœris without being "personally conducted," and to get safely over notwithstanding.

So much for personal explanation, and I will now point out what are the sources of information from which light is thrown upon the history of the Israelites in Egypt.

These sources may be divided into the contempor-

aneous and the traditional, or, as some consider, the revealed. The contemporaneous sources, or records written at the same time or shortly after the occurrence of the events which they describe, are the hieroglyphic writings on papyri, inscriptions on clay and stone tablets and on the ancient monuments of Egypt and other countries of antiquity, which excavations have, from time to time, brought to light; such, if they could be found, would be the broken fragments of the two tables of the testimony which Moses in his anger cast out of his hands and brake beneath the mount of Sinai.

The traditional, sometimes called revealed, sources are the Hebrew Bible in its original form, and its three translations, the English, the Septuagint, and the Coptic. Now, as Max Müller tells us, whatever may be the age of the Mosaic traditions or of the written records from which the Pentateuch was compiled, the Hebrew text of the Bible, as we now possess it, can hardly be referred to an earlier date than the sixth century B.C.[1] Since, then, it is reckoned that Jacob and his family migrated from Canaan to Egypt about the year 1720 B.C., and that his descendants left Egypt less than five centuries later, the events that the Hebrew text records took place from 700 to 1100 years before they were so recorded! Hence the value of any confirmation of the history that may be obtained from the contemporaneous record of the hieroglyphics and other ancient inscriptions.

During the last few years the additions to our

[1] Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop.*

knowledge of the past from these last sources has been great. But the Egyptologists, who have collected this information, have had to lead rough lives in doing so. Among the most notable discoveries are those of Tel el Amarna in Upper Egypt, where there was found a kind of diplomatic correspondence, which had been carried on between Egypt on the one hand, and Babylon, Syria, and Palestine on the other. The letters were written in the cuneiform character on clay tablets, and docketed in due clerkly style in hieratic. These Foreign Office archives were formed about 1500 B.C. In 1887 Professor Flinders Petrie added largely to what had already been discovered at Tel el Amarna by a winter's work there.

Now I hope the Professor will not consider it an abuse of hospitality if I describe what I might call, without being guilty of slang, his "diggings." I went with a friend one day to visit him at Tel el Amarna in his temporary home; it reminded me of the mud-cells formed by a wasp-like insect, common in Egypt, as a preparation for laying an egg. Though Professor Petrie's object was, we happen to know, a different one to the insect's, the general result was much the same upon a larger scale. The house (to give it a dignified name) consisted of three low mud walls, enclosing about six square yards, which the Professor had plastered against somebody else's mud wall. A gap in one of the sides was the doorway, which we entered bowing because we could not help it. The roof, I expect, was made of millet-

stalks, but I forget. The seats, however, I remember well. I sat on a rickety bed about six inches above ground level, in which many ancient things seemed to have been laid to rest; my friend sat on an empty kerosene tin, and the Professor himself sat on a box containing a large bottle of pickled Egyptian lizards, snakes, bats, toads and other reptiles, and smaller mammalia destined for the British Museum. Lying in the corner of this, his reception-room, was the recently discovered cast of Khu-n-Aten's head, which he picked up and discoursed about, drawing attention to certain details in the cast that showed that it was taken after death. In this mean hut were collected treasures of discovery which were soon to create a stir in the world of Egyptologists and antiquaries.

Professor Petrie had also the good fortune to discover in 1896 an inscription on a slab of black syenite, in which the Israelites are referred to by name in the following terms (according to the translation adopted by Professor Sayce)—"The Israelites are spoiled so that they have no seed, the land of Khar (Southern Palestine) is become like the widows of Egypt." And what gives additional interest to this discovery is the fact that the inscription was made by Meneptah, the reputed Pharaoh of the Exodus. This inscription, it is thought, may refer to the suppression of an incipient revolt of the Israelites in Goshen, in connection with the Libyan invasion shortly before the Exodus; or to a defeat inflicted on the Israelites, within the first two or three years after the Exodus, either in the Sinaitic

peninsula, or while they were threatening the southern frontier of Canaan.[1]

The following is a list of the books which have been largely drawn upon in the following pages, and so largely that each contribution levied has not been separately acknowledged—

A History of Egypt under the Pharaohs. . . H. Brugsch Bey.
The Exodus and the Egyptian Monuments. . H. Brugsch Bey.
Higher Criticism. . . . . . Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce.
The Egypt of the Hebrews and Herodotus. Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce.
The Early History of the Hebrews. Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce.
The Struggle of the Nations . . . . . M. Maspero.
An Atlas of Ancient Egypt. . . . . Egyptian Eploration.
Route of the Exodus . . . . . M. Naville.
Egypt and Syria. . . . . . Sir J. W. Dawson.
Mariette's Outlines of Ancient Egypt. Translated and edited by Miss Brodrick.
History of Egypt. . . . . . Prof. Petrie.

The photographs have been most kindly given me by Emile Brugsch Bey, who was himself the photographer, and who has, therefore, the right to boast that his subjects were kings.

So far as Egyptology is concerned, I have had to be unscientific and accept Authority unverified. But I have, I feel sure, selected as good authorities as are to be had, and as one could wish for. M. Naville is the "man of peace" whose footsteps I have closely followed.

[1] *The Presbyterian Quarterly*, No. 43. January 1898.

CHAPTER I

THE LAND OF GOSHEN

The period embraced in the following account of the Israelites' sojourn in Egypt commences with the arrival of Joseph, some twenty years before the settlement of the Hebrew tribes in Goshen, about 1720 B.C., and ends with their Exodus about 1277 B.C., according to the latest reckonings.

In order to give a continuous and intelligible account of the Israelites' connection with the different places mentioned in the Bible narrative, the situations of which are now known or conjectured, it will be best perhaps to draw an outline of the Hebrew nation's sojourn in Egypt from beginning to end, as pictured in the Bible, and to explain what is known, or believed to be known, concerning the geography of the history, as we proceed.

The Bible account every one knows, but it is always heard and read in the self-same words, a monotonous proceeding that tends to send the mind to sleep: so, possibly, it may seem more real, or may awake interest anew, if so much of the story, as it is necessary to repeat, is told with variation of expression, assisted

by local colouring and illuminated by side-lights from the contemporaneous history of Egypt as recorded by the Monuments.

It will be an advantage to the reader to have from the outset a correct general idea of the locality of the scenes of this story. He may, if he has entered or left Egypt *viâ* Ismailiyah, have anything but a lively recollection of his railway journey to or from Cairo. The railway-line runs almost all the way through what was once the land of Goshen from Heliopolis (On), *viâ* Zagazig (Bubastis), past Tel el Maskhuta (Pithom) to Ismailiyah, on the edge of Lake Timsah, not a day's march from where the Israelites crossed the sea. The Railway Administration is kind enough to allow plenty of time between the termini for a deliberate contemplation of the scenery and for complete mental digestion by the slowest working intellect of all the ideas of the past that the journey along the line of the Hebrew Exodus may suggest.

We are now in a position to begin the story.

In the ancient history of Egypt there stands out prominent among proud Pharaohs and privileged priests the figure of a self-made man, Joseph the alien. While the old man, Jacob, his father, mourned in Canaan for his much-loved son, whom he believed that he had lost for ever, Joseph was being carried along the caravan route between Canaan and Egypt by Ishmaelites, to whom his brothers, in their jealous hate, had sold him. In Egypt he was sold again to Potiphar, one of Pharaoh's officers. At this time, when Joseph was separated from his own relations

and people, and thrown upon his own resources, he was seventeen years of age. He served Potiphar so well and inspired such confidence that he was made overseer over all his master's house, and was given charge of all his property. Under Joseph's management the estate prospered, and Potiphar placed implicit trust in him. In addition to being endowed with exceptional ability and trustworthiness, he was gifted with good looks and a good figure. But this at the outset brought him no advantage, for it was the inciting cause that led to an intrigue of Potiphar's wife, by which she succeeded in getting him cast into prison.

Even there he made his way and climbed the ladder. The jailer having taken a fancy to him, eventually committed all the prisoners and prison management into his hands. But it appears that it was only internal management, and that there was an outer door kept closed against Joseph, for he is afterwards twice spoken of as being in a dungeon.

Now it so happened, when things were thus arranged, that Pharaoh was given a bad dinner; or else was persuaded that there was a plot to tamper with his food and drink. At least such is the presumption, for he cast the chief of the cupbearers and the chief of the cooks into the prison where Joseph was confined; and Joseph was told off to look after them. Not being accustomed to prison beds, both the butler and the cook had disturbing dreams, which next morning they told to Joseph and heard his interpretation of them. Subsequent events showed that he had interpreted rightly.

Two years after this, Pharaoh himself had a dream, twice repeated, and Joseph, being named to him as an expert in the interpretation of dreams, was accordingly sent for from his prison. After a shave and a change of clothes, he came before Pharaoh and heard him tell his dreams about the seven fat and the seven lean kine, and the seven full and the seven withered ears of corn. These dreams Joseph interpreted as foretelling seven bountiful and seven famine years to come, and he added to his interpretation some judicious and practical advice as to the steps that should be taken to avoid the evils of famine by measures of foresight in the years of plenty.

Accepting Joseph's interpretation as the true one, Pharaoh esteemed Joseph to be so discreet and wise that he made him ruler of his house and people and kept the throne only for himself. From being a bought slave and a foreigner, Joseph became Prime Minister of what was then one of the most civilized nations of the world; and passing through prison to the Court was proclaimed greater than the greatest in Egypt save Pharaoh only. And as yet he was only thirty years old.

The advancement of Joseph in the three periods of his life to posts of trust and honour in Potiphar's household, in the prison and in the Court, was probably not so rapid as the Bible account seems to indicate. Evidently much detail is omitted, and the history of thirteen years condensed and foreshortened.

There are two points to be noticed in this account: first, the remark about Joseph's toilet, and, secondly, the belief in dreams. The shaving of the head before

an audience with the Pharaoh was an Egyptian custom, and this casual mention of its observance in Joseph's case shows accuracy of detail in description. As regards the second point, the prophetic character of dreams was recognized by all the nations of antiquity, and in Babylonia the interpretation of them was a regular branch of science. But the belief in dreams was more pronounced in Egypt than in any other country, and on that account we find, in the later days of the Roman empire, the adjective Egyptian applied to dreams that were deemed prophetic.

A third point might also be noticed. We have in Joseph a precedent, and an eminently encouraging one, for putting young men of foreign nationality into high administrative posts in the Egyptian Government. The modern history of Egypt can furnish examples of the precedent being followed; and let us hope the parallel will be made perfect by the same sequel of success.

The Pharaoh who dreamed these dreams and advanced Joseph to his high position in the Government was, according to Christian tradition and Egyptological research, Apophis, one of the last, if not the last, of the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings. These kings did not belong to the established dynasties, but were invaders from a foreign country; what country is not known, further than that they came from the east and invaded Lower Egypt. They were most likely Mesopotamians. Hyksos signifies Prince of the Shepherds, probably of the pastoral tribes of the eastern deserts. The seven years immediately following their invasion was a period of anarchy. A king was then chosen and

RA-SEKENEN, PRINCE OF THEBES.

order established, and the invaders became thoroughly Egyptianized in all respects except as regards their names and religion. Their first king, Salatis, commenced his reign about a hundred years or more before Joseph came to Egypt, when Apophis sat on the throne. It was during the reign of Apophis, to whom Joseph was Prime Minister, that the National Party, headed by the Princes of Thebes, began the war of independence, which, later on, was to succeed in driving out the Hyksos aliens. But the first attempt under Ra-Sekenen failed, and the leader fell in battle with three deep wounds in his head, as may be seen in his mummy, which was discovered at Deir el Bahari in 1886, and is now in the Gizah museum. The photograph of this prince (Plate I.) shows what bad treatment he suffered before and after death. A dagger or spear wound above the right eye is clearly visible. The effects of a blow by some blunt weapon are evident in a split left cheek-bone and a broken lower jaw; while a long cleft in the skull from the blow of an axe is concealed by the hair. There must have been some delay in embalming the body, as there are signs of decomposition having commenced before the preservatives were applied; or else the embalming must have been imperfectly performed, as the entire body is in a bad state of preservation.

But in spite of the revolt led by Ra-Sekenen and others after him, the Hyksos continued, for some time to come, to rule over at least Lower Egypt. They had their Courts at Bubastis (now Tel el Basta, close by Zagazig), and at Zoan or Tanis (now Sân el Hagar,

a small fishing village). Most probably the Court where Joseph had his head-quarters was Bubastis, the Pi-Beseth of the Bible. For the sake of forming a definite picture of the events connected with his life in Egypt we will assume, on account of the probability, that Bubastis was his abode and not Zoan, though either place would be in agreement with the Bible narrative. The excavations made in the ruins of old Bubastis, near Zagazig, have brought to light evidence to show that the Pharaoh Apophis certainly resided there, and that the town was a large and important one in his time. It was the key of the road to Syria.

With the Hyksos Pharaohs at Bubastis and Zoan, intercourse between Egypt and Canaan would have been encouraged. A Hebrew stranger of ability, once brought to the notice of the Pharaoh, himself a stranger in the land, would have met with no prejudice to make his rise at Court a difficulty. And this is shown by Joseph being given to wife Asenath, the daughter of Potipherah, priest of On; for there was no more exclusive class than that of the priesthood.

We have seen that Joseph had been appointed the chief officer of the State to make arrangements for dealing with the famine which he had predicted. To fit himself for his duties, the first thing he did was to travel all over Egypt and make himself personally acquainted with the conditions of the problem with which he had to deal. Arab tradition tells of great achievements of irrigation and drainage carried out by him. And the Bible tells of the famine of seven years which he successfully dealt with by establishing stores of grain during the preceding seven years

of plenty, whereby he not only provided food to keep the people alive but enriched the treasury at the same time.

Famines in Egypt have from time to time resulted from a deficiency in the height of the flood following on a failure of the usual summer rains in Central Africa and the mountains of Abyssinia. In Egypt the rainfall is so slight that, excepting on a narrow strip along the Mediterranean coast-line, no crops are raised by it. Cultivation is, in the present day, wholly dependent either on the soaking that the ground gets during a flood, or on artificial irrigation by canals. Possibly, in the period we are concerned with, there may have been a greater rainfall than now in the north of the Delta, which, with changes of land level, may account for Zoan having once been a pleasant place to live in and a favourite residence of the Pharaoh; whereas it is now deserted by all but poor fishermen, and is surrounded by a bleak, inhospitable waste and by salt lands unfit for cultivation.[1]

Of a famine which visited Egypt over 2000 years ago, we have what professes to be contemporaneous evidence. A hieroglyphic inscription was discovered a short time ago by the late Mr. Wilbour on an island in the centre of the first cataract midway between Aswân and Philæ, which refers to a famine of seven years' duration followed by years of plenty. The inscription is of comparatively late date, probably not older than the third century B.C., and seems to have been engraved by the priests of Khnum for the

[1] *Higher Criticism*, by Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce.

purpose of securing the tithes of the district, which, they asserted, had been granted to them by an ancient king. The inscription begins in the following way—"In the year 18 of the king, the master of diadems, the Divine incarnation, the golden Horus" (the reading of the royal name is doubtful), "when Madir was prince of the cities of the south land and director of the Nubians in Elephantinê, this message of the king was brought to him—'I am sorrowing upon my high throne over those who belong to the palace. In sorrow is my heart for the great misfortune, because the Nile flood in my time has not come for seven years. Light is the grain, there is lack of crops and of all kinds of food. Each man has become a thief to his neighbour. They desire to hasten and cannot walk; the child cries, the youth creeps along and the old man; their souls are bowed down. Their legs are bent together and drag along the ground, and their hands rest in their bosoms. The counsel of the great ones of the Court is but emptiness. Torn open are the chests of provisions, but instead of contents there is air. Everything is exhausted.'" In the end the god Khnum, the Creator, came to the rescue of the Pharaoh and his subjects, and the years of famine were followed by endless plenty. In return for this the god, or rather his priests, were endowed with certain gifts, which it is the object of the inscription to record.

We have further historical evidence of a famine of later times, which lasted seven years, in consequence of too low floods. It is written in an account of it that vehement drought and pestilence continued for

seven years, A.D. 1064 to 1071, and the famine was so severe that the people ate human corpses and animals that had died of themselves. Organized bands of kidnappers infested Cairo and caught passers-by in the street by ropes, furnished with hooks and let down from the windows, in order to provide themselves with food. This account is confirmed by the Arabic writer el Makrîzî, who bears the character of being a sober historian, not given to romance.

It happens, also, that there is contemporaneous evidence of the occurrences of a famine in Egypt at the very period to which the lifetime of Joseph would belong. At el Kab in Upper Egypt is the tomb of a certain Baba, who must have lived when the struggle with the foreign shepherd kings was going on. On the wall of the tomb is a hieroglyphic inscription, in which the good deeds of its owner are recorded. Among other acts of charity which Baba performed, he states that "when a famine arose, lasting many years, I issued corn to the city each year of famine." The age of Baba and of Joseph will have coincided, and therefore the record probably refers to the very famine that Joseph made his reputation over, Baba being in Upper Egypt, while Joseph was in Lower.

Now, while the famine was in Egypt, there was famine also in Canaan, where Joseph's father and brothers were; and, as Abraham had done before in time of famine, so they also looked to Egypt for food, for they heard that there was corn in Egypt. As

has been already pointed out, with the Hyksos ruling in Lower Egypt, there would be ready intercourse between Egypt and Canaan. The Tel el Amarna tablets witness to Canaan having been at times dependent on Egypt for corn.

To find corn then Jacob's sons went to Egypt, leaving at home the old man Jacob, their father, and their youngest brother Benjamin. On reaching Egypt, they were brought before Joseph in the Court at Bubastis, for he it was that sold the corn to the famine-stricken suppliants. And Joseph knew his brethren, but they did not recognize him, for his Egyptian dress disguised him, and he spoke to them through an interpreter. Moreover, he was seventeen years old when last they saw him, and now he must have been forty or more. After such a lapse of time, and considering the treatment Joseph had received at his brothers' hands, it was not surprising that he should be able to keep his brotherly feelings under control. It is very doubtful if he had any such feelings except towards Benjamin, the son of his own mother. Whatever his feelings may have been, his acts were not brotherly, for the narrative says that he spoke roughly to his brothers, treated them to three days' imprisonment and an unpleasant fright on their way back to Canaan, and let them depart without making himself known. Moreover, he allowed them to go back with corn only on the condition that they promised to return again with Benjamin, and that they left Simeon as a hostage and security for the faithful carrying out of the promises.

So the brothers went back to Canaan with corn, and told Jacob of their treatment by the Egyptian Premier, and the conditions laid upon them for the ransom of Simeon and the right to traffic in Egypt. But Jacob would not part with Benjamin, lest he should see him no more, and the loss of the remaining son of his beloved Rachel should bring his grey hairs in sorrow to the grave.

But the famine was sore in the land and there was no help for it; the old man had to let his youngest go, and trust to God Almighty to put mercy into the heart of him who had the power to give them food, without which they would starve.

So this company of brothers journeyed a second time to Egypt and stood before Joseph. And Benjamin being with them, Joseph had difficulty in not making himself known, for his affection for Benjamin was strong. But this time he treated them all well, and more especially Benjamin, and went so far as to make merry with them. But again they were sent away with full sacks, and the same trick as before was played upon them, their money being put in their sacks and Joseph's silver cup in Benjamin's sack. On this occasion, however, Joseph sent after them and made a pretence of detecting the apparent theft by means of second sight. In fear and trembling the brothers returned to Bubastis and came to Joseph in his house. And Judah pleaded their cause before Joseph. So well and touchingly did he plead, that Joseph's feelings overcame him, and he could no longer help making himself known to his brothers. Joseph thereafter, with the approval of Pharaoh, sent

them back to Caanan with the necessary transport and supplies to fetch their father with all the members of the family and all their cattle, for there were yet five more years of the predicted famine to come.

And his brothers returned to Jacob in Canaan and told him that Joseph was still alive and Governor of Egypt. And Jacob, though slow to believe, was at length convinced, and decided to go and see Joseph, his long-lost son, before he died.

And Israel, as Jacob also was called, now a very old man, moved from Beersheba in Canaan to Egypt, and with him his descendants, in all seventy, with their cattle and goods. And they arrived in the land of Goshen, where Joseph came to meet his father from the Court of Pharaoh at Bubastis. Soon after their arrival Joseph instructed his brothers to say to Pharaoh, when called before him, that they were shepherds, and the sons of shepherds, that they might dwell in the land of Goshen. So they did, and petitioned that they might dwell in the land of Goshen, and their request was granted them. "And Joseph placed his father and brethren, and gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land in the land of Rameses." "And Israel dwelt in the land of Egypt in the country of Goshen, and they had possessions therein, and grew and multiplied exceedingly." The expression "best of the land" was probably from a shepherd's point of view.

This first settlement of the Israelites in the land of Goshen is calculated by Egyptologists to have taken place about 1720 B.C.

LAKE MENZALEH
To Palestine Caravan Route
Coast Route to Syria Wadi Arish
Kantarah
San el Hagar (TANIS)
Tel Dafanneh
Ruins of Ujn
Salhieh
Tanitic Branch
Pelusiac Branch
Fakus
Bahr Moes
Bahr Takus
DESERT
SUEZ CANAL
DESERT OF ETHAM
Land of Atuma
Pagasa
Tel el Basta
Tel el Maskhuta
Heroopolis Exc.
Ismailiah
Saft el Henneh
Tel el Kebir
Wadi Tumilat
Lake Ballah
Lake Timsah
Magfar
Saba Biar
Abu Balah
Ismailiah Canal
Serapeum
Pi Hahiroth
Migdol
Pithom or Succoth
Baalzephon
Bitter Lakes
MAP OF THE LAND OF GOSHEN AND OF THE EXODUS
Route of Exodus
Modern Railways
Supposed extension of Red Sea
Scale
Kilometres
Miles
Hartford Geog. Estab. London

We have now reached a point in the narrative when it will be convenient to consider where the land of Goshen was, and by what route Jacob and his family travelled between Syria and Egypt.

In the first place we *know* where Zoan was; as also Bubastis; and that the Hyksos Pharaohs held Courts at both these places. Zoan or Tanis was where Sân el Hagar now is, and the Tanitic branch of the Nile, to-day in its lower portion a large drain, flowed past it. Bubastis is marked by the site of a mound called Tel el Basta, close to Zagazig. This town also was on the Tanitic branch of the Nile, which at this point has now become a canal, though lower down at Sân el Hagar it has become a drain.

In verse 11 of the first chapter of Exodus it is told of the children of Israel in the land of Goshen that they built for Pharaoh treasure cities Pithom and Raamses. Now, between Kassassine and Ismailiyah there are some ancient mounds which mark the site of an old town, now called Tel el Maskhuta, or "the mound of the image." These mounds are situated a few miles to the south-west of Ismailiyah and on the south side of the railway-line to Cairo. Arabi's earthworks of 1882 hide them from view of travellers by the railway. Formerly it was supposed that here was the ancient Raamses, but M. Naville, a well-known Egyptologist, in the spring of 1883, identified these mounds as Pithom, or Pi-tum. He was led to the site by inscriptions on monuments found by the French engineers of M. de Lesseps during the construction of the Suez Canal and transported to Ismailiyah. These showed that "Tum" was the

god of the city from which the monuments had come. Pi-Tum signifies the abode of Tum, the setting sun. The city was evidently built by Ramses II. as a fortified military storehouse or granary, in which provisions were gathered for the use of armies or caravans bound for the Eastern desert. These military storehouses were built of Nile mud mixed with chopped straw. Here then was a proof that Ramses II. was, as had been supposed, that Pharaoh of the Oppression for whom the treasure cities Pithom and Raamses were built.

Pithom having been thus identified, we have therefore one fixed point, viz. Tel el Maskhuta, which is known to have been in the land of Goshen. The modern name of the valley, in which this place is situated, is the Wadi (valley) Tumilât, which, Linant suggests, may be a compound word, of which Tum is one of the components, thus seeming to indicate a connection with Pithom.

We have again the following further evidence as to the locality of Goshen.[1] The translators of the Septuagint version of the Bible were acquainted with the position of Goshen, and so too were the writers and travellers of a still later age. It was not until the Mohammedan invasion of Egypt that the knowledge of the locality seems to have been lost. In the Septuagint the name is written, as it is in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, Gesem, and it is added that it is in the nome of Arabia. The same spelling and the same statement recur in the Coptic translation of

[1] *The Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce.

the Bible. Moreover, the narrative of a pilgrimage made by a Christian lady (Silvia of Aquitaine) in the fourth century, which has recently been discovered at Arezzo in Italy, bears testimony to the same fact. The pilgrims, we are told, wish to go from Clysma near Suez to "the land of Gesse, that is, to the city which is called Arabia."

Now, from the hieroglyphics it is learnt that Kesem (the same word as Gesem) was the civil name of the *district*, as well as of the *city*, in which stood the temple of Sopt, the god of the Arabian nome. If then we can fix the site of the temple of Sopt, we have found another point in Goshen. M. Naville again helps us. About six miles east of Zagazig there is now a village called Saft el Henneh. M. Naville's researches in this village in 1885 brought to light some hieroglyphic monuments which have led him to identify this village as Pi-Sopt (the abode of Sopt), which was the *religious* capital of the twentieth or Arabian nome of Lower Egypt. We have thus got another known point in Goshen, namely, the village of Saft el Henneh.

This Arabian nome was so called from its proximity to Arabia, a fact which also helps in a general way to fix the position of Goshen.

The land of Goshen, being thus found to be the same district as the Arabian nome, was then the country around Saft el Henneh included within the triangle bounded by Zagazig, Bilbeis, and Tel el Kebir. As Pithom, now Tel el Maskhuta, was also in the land of Goshen, the Wadi Tumilât must have formed a part of Goshen. The Septuagint and Josephus both

add "On, which is Heliopolis," to Pithom and Raamses, as being connected with Goshen. If On lay in Goshen, this carries the land occupied by the Israelites towards Cairo. It will be remembered that it was a daughter of a priest of On that Joseph married.

From the contemporary records of the hieroglyphics we gather that at the time when the Hebrews came and settled in Goshen, it was not an organized province occupied by an *agricultural* population. It was part of the marsh land called the "Water of Ra." It could therefore be given by the king to foreigners without disturbing the native population. Probably it resembled the present condition of the borders of the modern province of Sharkiyah, north of Fakûs, where Bedawîn now graze large flocks of cattle. The name given to the land in the hieroglyphics, the "water of Ra," that is, "the water of the Sun," may have been the origin of "Ain Shems," which is the Arabic for "the spring of the Sun," and is an expression often found in connection with the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt. In this land of the "water of Ra" the small city of Baïlos of the hieroglyphics (Bilbeis of to-day) was situated; and the hieroglyphics, in relating how King Meneptah fought a battle against foreign invasion near Baïlos, record of the country round it "that it was not cultivated, but left as pasture for cattle because of the strangers. It was abandoned since the time of the ancestors." Whether this is a reference to its occupation by the Israelites or not, the passage proves that the district was used for pasturage and not for cultivation, and

that consequently it had been in the hands of the nomadic Semitic shepherds of Asia.

After weighing all the evidence collected, M. Naville comes to the conclusion that the land of Goshen had no definite boundaries, but extended outwards with the increase of its Hebrew inhabitants; that it lay between Tel el Kebir, Zagazig, and Bilbeis, and ultimately embraced the part of the Delta included between the Tanitic branch of the Nile on the west, and the desert and Red Sea on the east; and that it coincided roughly with the modern province of Sharkiyah and part of Kaliubiyah as far as Heliopolis.

Our definite evidence for locating Goshen is then this—Pithom and Sopt we know from contemporary sources were in Gesem. We know that Gesem of the Septuagint is the same as Goshen of the English version. The modern Tel el Maskhuta has been identified as Pithom, and Saft el Henneh as Sopt. Our indefinite evidence is the close agreement of hieroglyphic descriptions of the land and all concerning it with the country identified as Goshen.

As has already been pointed out, under the Hyksos Pharaohs, kings of shepherds themselves and foreigners, no prejudice would have been felt against a Hebrew stranger, and Joseph's favour at Court is therefore intelligible. And so also is explained the form of Joseph's bid for Pharaoh's favour on behalf of his brothers, when he urged that "the men are shepherds, for their trade hath been to feed cattle, and they have brought their flocks." This manner of recommendation was adopted under the conviction

that the Pharaoh and his ministers would have had no hesitation in granting the land of Goshen to a pastoral tribe from Asia. They would have seen in them friends rather than enemies, and possible allies against the conquered Egyptians; for Goshen was sufficiently near the Hyksos capital for the services of the Israelites to be at the disposal of the foreign Pharaohs in case of need. But though the Court might favour the immigration and be well disposed towards the immigrants, it was not so outside the Court among the native subjects of the king, for it was said that "every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians," since they belonged to a race whose rule was hated.

Knowing now where the land of Goshen was situate, we have next to consider by what route Jacob's sons and afterwards his whole family journeyed from Canaan to Egypt. Assuming the Court of Pharaoh, where Joseph was, to have been Bubastis, a migration of shepherds from the land of Canaan would probably have chosen the route that keeps to the north of Lake Timsah (then in connection with the Red Sea) and enters the Wadi Tumilât at, or west of, Ismailiyah. From this point, going westwards, they would find dry desert along which to travel, with water and pasture for their cattle in the valley alongside. For originally a flood channel from the Nile flowed along this valley, and tailed into what was then the north end of the Red Sea at a point a little to the west of where Ismailiyah now is, on the margin of Lake Timsah. Possibly this branch

from the Nile flowed only during the season when the Nile was in flood, so that, at other times of the year, the surfaces that had been inundated during the flood would have been covered in consequence with herbage, and hollows full of water would have existed in the low parts of the valley, such as Lake Mahsama, which remains to-day. If the modern drain were to be obliterated, the Ismailiyah Canal to be filled up, and the Nile flood to be given free access to the valley, probably the condition of things which prevailed in the time of Joseph would be reproduced, and the Wadi Tumilât would again become the land of Goshen rich in pasturage, with a chain of lakes filling its hollows convenient for watering the flocks of shepherd settlers. We have evidence that such was the case in a document, dated in the eighth year of Meneptah's reign, and therefore written two or three years after the Exodus. This document is known as the papyrus of Anastasi VI. (now in the British Museum). It contains a letter from a scribe to the King Meneptah (the Pharaoh of the Exodus) to the following effect—

"We have allowed the tribes of the Shasu of the land of Atuma to pass the stronghold of King Meneptah of the land of Thukut (Succoth), and go towards the lakes of Pithom of King Meneptah of the land of Thukut, in order to feed themselves, and to feed their cattle in the great estate of Pharaoh." These tribes of Shasu or Edomites, then, it seems probable, succeeded to the possession of the crown lands in Goshen (or the Wadi Tumilât) after the Exodus of the Israelites.

M. Naville gives us further information with reference to the arrangements on the borders of Egypt, at the point where travellers between Syria and Egypt would cross them. As this information will bear on the subject of the how and where the Exodus took place, it is important to note it.[1] The only access to the afore-mentioned lakes of Pithom from the desert was through a stronghold, called by a Semitic name "khetem." A "khetem" is a kind of fortification not necessarily of any importance as regards extent. Its peculiar object was to block a passage or a road. There were several "khetems" in Egypt. One of the most frequently mentioned is the khetem of Zar, which was situated at or near the place now called Kantarah on the Suez Canal. This point is on the present route from Egypt to Syria, *viâ* el Areesh. There is a representation of this khetem on a wall of the great temple of Karnak. It shows that the stronghold consisted of two gateways with walls and towers, placed on each side of a bridge, or possibly of a ford which crossed the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. The modern name Kantarah is the Arabic for a bridge. It is natural to suppose that the khetem of Succoth was of the same nature as that of Zar, and that it commanded the place where the Red Sea could be crossed.

Now this point of crossing, as it will be argued later on, could not be far from Ismailiyah; and, for this to have been so, the conjecture must be accepted that, at the time of the Israelites' sojourn in Egypt, the Red Sea was continuous up to Ismailiyah and

[1] *The Route of the Exodus*, Naville.

projected some way up the Tumilât valley as shown on the accompanying map. Since that time the land level has become, according to Professor Petrie, higher at the Suez end of the isthmus, and lower at the Port Said end; and the arm of the Red Sea, which reached to Ismailiyah, has separated into the Bitter Lakes and Lake Timsah, now divided from each other and from the Red Sea by dry desert above water-level. This change, it would almost seem, had been foretold by Isaiah (xi. 15), for he prophesies—

"And the Lord shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea; and with his mighty wind shall he shake his hand over the river, and shall smite it in the seven streams, and make men go over dryshod."

The tongue of the Egyptian sea has disappeared and its place is taken by desert and inland lakes, the rudiments of what was once a tongue of the sea. The seven branches of the Nile have become two; and the branch best known to Palestine, the Pelusiac branch, is one of those that men now go over dryshod where it once formed part of the Egyptian frontier to the south of Pelusium, and where it was guarded and bridged by the "khetem of Zar."

A very important fact concerning Succoth (which place or district must have been near Pithom, as will be shown further on) was revealed by the excavations made at Pithom. And the fact revealed was the vicinity of the Red Sea, and its extension at that time much further north than its present extremity at Suez. Besides Pharaonic and Ptolemaic texts there were found two stones with Latin inscriptions giving the Latin name of the city as Ero, or Ero

Castra, in Greek Heroöpolis. The city is often named by Greek and Latin authors, who agree in the statement that it was built at the head of the Arabian Gulf, also called Heroöpolitan. The English, Septuagint, and Coptic versions of the Bible bear testimony to the identity of Heroöpolis with some place in the neighbourhood of Pithom, as they respectively finish the twenty-ninth verse of Genesis xlvi. as below—"And Joseph made ready his chariot and went up to meet Israel his father," according to the English version "to Goshen," according to the Septuagint "near Heroöpolis," according to the Coptic version "near the city of Pithom."

It was natural that the Septuagint should substitute the Greek, and the Coptic the Egyptian expression, which were their equivalents for that used in the English version.

According to Linant's views, formed after a close examination of the country, the Red Sea, at the time of the Exodus, included Lake Timsah, covered the valleys now called Abu Balah and Sabah Biar, and reached as far as the village of Magfar.

Professor Sayce, however, objects to this theory of the Red Sea extension, and points out that, though it would remove many difficulties, there is one argument against it, so serious in his opinion as to prevent its acceptance; and he states the objection as follows—

"A canal already existed in the reign of Meneptah, which united the Gulf of Suez with the Nile not far from the modern Zagazig, and allowed ships to pass from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. The canal

must have followed the line of the present Freshwater Canal, not only as far as the Bitter Lakes, but also as far as Suez. . . . Had the sea extended as far north as the Bitter Lakes, the canal would never have been excavated by the side of it through a waterless desert. The fact seems fatal to M. Naville's theory, and, unless it is removed, some other solution of the geographical problem must be attempted."

I believe the objection *will* be removed, nor, even in its present form, does the fact seem fatal to M. Naville's theory; for, though there may have been a continuation of the sea from Suez to Ismailiyah, still, navigation across the shallows, which are now dry land, would have been difficult or even impossible, and a canal for navigation may therefore have been dug. The fact that a strong wind could produce a dry passage across the sea is in itself sufficient to show that its conditions were not favourable to navigation, except for that class of ship, said to have been advertised in America as being of such light draught as to require no more than a heavy fall of dew to float it. In Egypt we are all familiar with extensive sheets of water which are navigable only by very shallow-draught native craft of small size and special build; and the Suez Canal itself passes through Lake Menzaleh for about fifty miles, its channel having been dredged. The interval of dry desert between the Bitter Lakes and the Red Sea at Suez is now fifteen miles long, and between the Bitter Lakes and Lake Timsah about seven miles; and, as dredgers had not been introduced into Egypt so early as the eighteenth or nineteenth dynasties,

the only way at that time to make a navigable channel past these lengths (which the theory in discussion considers as *shallow* continuations of the Red Sea) was to excavate a navigable canal in dry land to join up with the point from which there was continuous deep water; and that point was Suez.

Moreover, the cargo that was transported in those ancient days was probably a valuable one, and could be guarded better along a navigable canal than if it were being carried in shallow-draught vessels across the sea.

Lastly, it may be pointed out, in answer to Professor Sayce's objection, that, notwithstanding the fact that a navigable canal for ocean-going steamers has been created to join the Red Sea through the lakes with the Mediterranean, it has been found necessary, in addition, to make fresh-water canals (in connection with the Nile by the Ismailiyah canal) from Ismailiyah to Port Said and Suez parallel with the salt-water ship canal; and what is more, to adapt the fresh-water canal to Suez for navigation with locks at both ends and at intermediate points.

Does the existence of the old canal appear now to be so fatal an objection to the theory that the Red Sea formerly extended further northwards than it does now? Future Professors might argue that the Suez ship canal could not have existed at the end of the nineteenth century, because there is clear evidence that, at that time, a fresh-water canal from the Nile flowed past Ismailiyah to Suez.

On the other hand, M. Naville's theory seems to

agree so well with all points of the narrative that one is inclined to agree with it rather than with the objection. I shall therefore assume with M. Naville, Professor Petrie, and M. Linant that, at the time of the Exodus, the Red Sea united the Bitter Lakes and Lake Timsah, and intruded some distance up the Wadi Tumilât.

We now know, with sufficient certainty, where the land of Goshen was, and what sort of country it must have been; and we have also discussed the condition of things that probably existed at its eastern extremity as regards the Red Sea and the arrangements for guarding the border; so that we can now go forward with our history from the point where we left Jacob and his descendants in possession.

When seventeen years had passed since the Israelites first entered Egypt, the time came when Jacob felt that his end was near. So he gathered his sons together and blessed them, the fathers of the twelve tribes of Israel; and charged them to bury him in the cave of Machpelah, in Canaan. And Jacob was gathered unto his people. His body was embalmed, and the Egyptians mourned for him seventy days. After obtaining Pharaoh's leave, Joseph went up to bury his father with all his house and brethren, servants of Pharaoh and elders of Egypt. Only their little ones, their flocks and their herds they left in the land of Goshen. With Joseph went chariots and horsemen, and it was a very great company.

Probably the route taken on this occasion was the regular caravan route, and the same by which Jacob and his sons made their journeys into Egypt, namely from Bubastis (Zagazig) to Tel el Kebir and Pithom (Tel el Maskhuta), and thence past the Khetem el Zar (Kantarah or Tel Difinneh) across the desert *viâ* el Areesh to Canaan.

CHAPTER II

THE EXODUS

After burying his father in Canaan, Joseph, with all that went with him, returned to Egypt and lived there for another fifty-four years after his father's death, when he, in his turn, being very old and feeling that his end was near, prophesied that the people to whom he belonged would be brought out of Egypt unto the land which God sware to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

And Joseph took an oath of the children of Israel, saying—"God will surely visit you, and ye shall carry my bones from hence." So Joseph died, being an hundred and ten years old, and they embalmed him and he was put into a sarcophagus or stone coffin in Egypt, to wait for the fulfilment of his prophecy of the coming Exodus. And all his generation passed away, and the times to which Joseph belonged, and there arose a new king over Egypt, who knew not Joseph.

To understand what this means we must study a chapter of Egyptology, and learn what changes had taken place in the reigning dynasties. It was a

shepherd king, Apophis, who had advanced Joseph, and about the time that Joseph was in favour a struggle for independence began between the princes of the country and the foreign Pharaohs, which Ra-Sekenen, as has been already told, commenced. This struggle was maintained for many years and for several generations. Little by little the foreign Pharaohs were driven from the lands they had so long possessed: first Memphis and Heliopolis fell to the national party; then Zoan was captured and destroyed, and the Hyksos driven out from their last fortress, Avaris, by Aahmes I., or Amosis, the founder of the eighteenth dynasty of legitimate Pharaohs. It is told by Manetho that the Hyksos fled northwards, where they built Jerusalem as a protection against the Assyrians.

Thus it came to pass that, when Joseph lived, the Pharaoh on the throne, being a foreigner in the country like himself, advanced him to honours and favoured his family. But when the alien race ceased to be dominant, and were driven from the country, the new Pharaoh, who succeeded to the throne, was pure Egyptian, and had no affinity with the pastoral tribes in Goshen, "for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians," a sentiment which probably was born and grew strong under the hated rule of the shepherd kings. And so it came about that there rose up a new king over Egypt, who knew not Joseph. Some think that special reference is thus made to Amosis, the founder of the eighteenth dynasty, who drove out the shepherd kings and captured Zoan. But this is not the general belief

among Egyptologists, who consider Ramses II., the Sesostris of the Greeks, as the Pharaoh of the Oppression.

Ramses II. was the third Pharaoh of the nineteenth dynasty, which came to the throne in succession to the dynasty to which Amosis belonged. But it does not seem necessary to limit the expression in question, about the king that knew not Joseph and the policy adopted by him towards the Israelites, to one Pharaoh only.

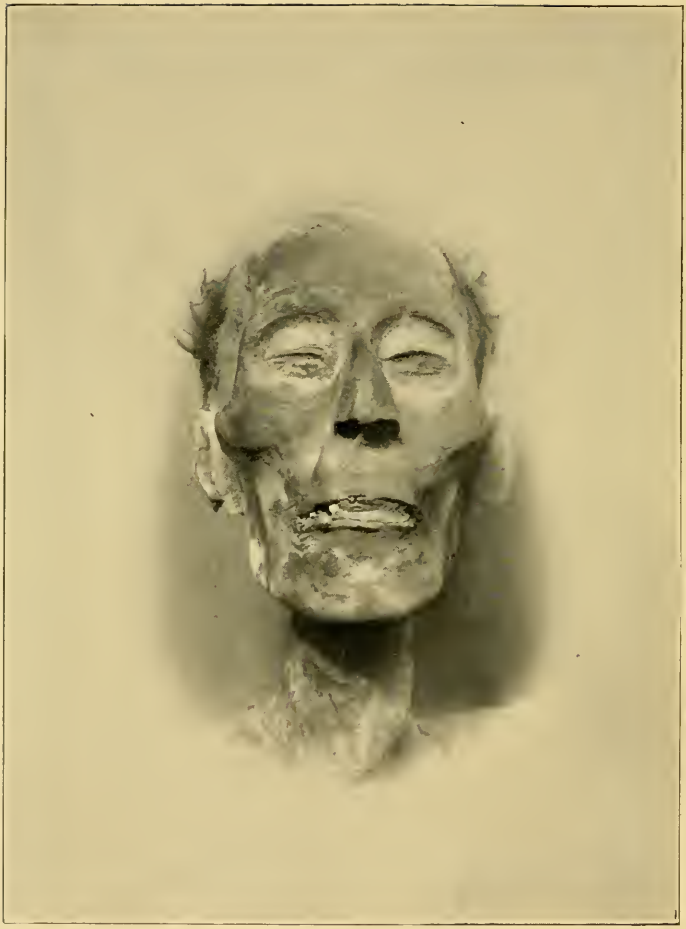
Amosis may have begun and his successors continued the policy until the oppression culminated in the reign of Ramses II., for whom the treasure cities Pithom and Raamses were built, and by whose order the male children of the Hebrews were to be cast into the river.

But satisfactory though this explanation of the expression "a king that knew not Joseph" may be, it is not accepted by Professor Sayce in his latest work on the subject of *The Early History of the Hebrews*. He considers that Ramses I., the founder of the nineteenth dynasty, and not Amosis, the founder of the eighteenth dynasty, was the king that was referred to. He ascribes the changes of attitude towards the Israelites more to the difference in religious belief than to the difference of nationality. I give his argument for the most part in his own words in order to do it justice, as I am inclined myself to adopt the other view.

"The full meaning of the phrase (a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph) has been explained to us by the tablets of Tel el Amarna.

They have made it clear that, towards the end of the eighteenth dynasty, the Egyptian Court became semi-Asiatic. The Pharaohs married Asiatic wives; and Amenophis IV., under the influence of his mother Teie, publicly abandoned the religion of which he was the official head, and avowed himself a convert to an Asiatic form of faith. Amon, the god of Thebes, was dethroned by a new deity, Aten-Ra, 'the Solar Disk.' The Solar Disk, however, was but the visible manifestation of the one Supreme God. . .

"Amenophis endeavoured to force the new faith upon his unwilling subjects. The very name of Amon was proscribed, and was erased wherever it occurred, the followers of the old religion of Egypt were persecuted, and the Pharaoh changed his own name to that of Khu-n-Aten, 'the radiance of the Solar Disk.' A violent struggle ensued with the powerful hierarchy of Thebes. Khu-n-Aten was finally compelled to leave the capital of his fathers, and build himself a new city further north, where its site is now marked by the mounds of Tel el Amarna." Professor Sayce then tells us that the inscriptions show that Khu-n-Aten was not content with making himself the high priest of the new faith. He went further and constituted himself the teacher of it. The acceptance of his doctrines became a passport to offices of State. Asiatics, more especially Syrians and Canaanites, usurped the highest functions of the Government, and native Egyptians were thus excluded from posts of honour and gain, with the result that their feelings were embittered. "Not only religion, but self-interest



RAMSES THE GREAT, THE PHARAOH OF THE OPPRESSION.

also urged the native Egyptian to put an end to the reforming schemes of the Pharaoh, and to religious animosity was added race hatred as well.

"The storm broke shortly before Khu-n-Aten's death, and popular feeling showed itself after his death by the destruction of his mummy and sarcophagus."

This statement does not agree with the 1897—1898 Report of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, which tells us of the discovery of the mummy of Khu-n-Aten in the tombs of Thebes; but a note of interrogation seems to imply that the identification of the mummy has not been accepted as unquestionable.

"Khu-n-Aten was followed by one or two short-lived Pharaohs in the city he had built. Then the end came. The city was destroyed and the adherents of the new faith apostatized, or were slain. A new king arose who represented the national party and the worship of a national God, and the Semitic strangers who had governed Egypt (as European strangers govern it to-day) disappeared for a time from the land. Their kinsfolk who remained, like the Israelites in Goshen, were reduced to the condition of public slaves."

Here then, Professor Sayce considers, is the explanation of the rise of that "new king which knew not Joseph." "We must see in him, not the founder of the eighteenth dynasty, who expelled the Hyksos, but Ramses I., the founder of the nineteenth dynasty, with whom all danger of Asiatic domination in Egypt came to an end. The nineteenth dynasty represented the national reaction against the Asiatic faith of Khu-n-Aten, and the government

of the country by Asiatic officials. It meant Egypt as against Asia. And the policy of the new rulers of Egypt was not long in declaring itself. Ramses I. indeed reigned too short a time to do more than establish his family firmly on the throne; but his son and successor Seti Meneptah I. once more overran Syria and made Palestine an Egyptian province: while Ramses II., who followed him, took measures to prevent such of the Asiatics as were still in Egypt from ever again becoming formidable to the native population."

Now, whether the new king that knew not Joseph was Amosis, who expelled the Hyksos, or Ramses I., who restored the national religion, or whether the expression covers them both and all the intermediate Pharaohs besides, it seems to be agreed that Ramses II., otherwise called the Great, followed the lead of his predecessors, and was "par excellence" the Pharaoh of the Oppression. Whereas the Pharaohs before him had chastised the Israelites with whips, he outdid them all and chastised with scorpions.

Now it may seem a wonderful thing that a king who lived over 3000 years ago should have had his photograph taken. But, notwithstanding the wonder of the thing, photographs of this Pharaoh in at least four poses exist. They show that he possessed bold features, and that he was physically a fine man. A specimen of the photographs is given on Plate II., from which it is evident that Ramses does not "take well" in the sense of the words

SETI I, FATHER OF RAMSES THE GREAT.

as used by ordinary-looking people when the photographer does not flatter them. Most of the photographs of the distinguished mummies in the Gizah Museum are grotesque; some like that of Ra-Sekenen (Plate I.) are ghastly; but there is one that is neither. The mummy of Seti I., the father of Ramses II., and probably also an oppressor of the Israelites, has preserved the impress of the soul, which left the body so many years ago, in an expression of quiet dignity that becomes a dead king (Plate III.).

The embalmed body of Ramses the Great now lies in a glass case in the Museum of Antiquities in Egypt for every tourist and visitor to the museum to gaze upon, and for those who have not in them imagination enough to recognize majesty in a mummy to insult with irreverent remarks of a personal nature. "Why he's just like roast hare," was the impulsive remark of an American lady on her first introduction to the dead king.

"They that see thee shall narrowly look upon thee and consider thee, saying, Is this the man that made the earth to tremble, that did shake kingdoms; that made the world as a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof, that opened not the house of his prisoners?" [1]

"Now, lies he there, and none so poor to do him reverence."

How are the mighty fallen! How far they have fallen from their first estate will appear from the

[1] Isaiah xiv. 16, 17.

following account of an incident connected with one of them, which was published in a local paper.

Brugsch Bey, the famous explorer of the tombs of ancient Egypt, who discovered the mummy believed to be that of Pharaoh who oppressed the Israelites, recently found another mummy on the coffin of which was the royal *cartouche*, indicating that the body was that of one of the Pharaohs. He was delighted with his discovery, and with great care packed it up for conveyance to Cairo. On arriving at the railway-station he was informed that his package must be put in the luggage-van. The Bey was concerned about its safety, and insisted on its going into the passenger-carriage with him. The officials consented on condition that the same fare was paid as for a living passenger. Brugsch Bey accordingly took a ticket for Pharaoh, and the mummy travelled first-class. At the octroi office (town customs) of Cairo a new difficulty arose. The custom officers demanded duty. The Bey explained that the package was the mummy of a Pharaoh, and that no duty could be levied upon it. But the officers were convinced that it might be made dutiable under some category, and they searched their lists for a suitable class. Finally, having selected a class which they thought comprehensive and suitable, they calculated the duty due. The Bey scorned to contend about the small charge imposed, and the mummy having been weighed and the duty paid, the mortal remains of Pharaoh entered the capital of Egypt as a package of dried fish, locally known as "fasseek."

"Are all thy conquests, glories, triumphs, spoils, shrunk to this little measure?"

But is it right that the royal dead should be subjected to such indignities? Is it right that they should be dragged from their resting-places, to suffer the violent shakings and jolting of the Upper Egypt Railway, to be at the end of their journey classified as unsavoury food, and then to be exposed to public gaze, labelled with the name that belongs to the forsaken house no longer? "Rattle his bones over the stones, he's only a pauper whom nobody owns." Pauper indeed, bankrupt of the life that made the body rich, and with no kin to own him.

"And nothing can we call our own but death, and that small model of the barren earth, which serves as paste and cover to our bones." But though no kinsfolk assert ownership and guardians' rights over what is left of Pharaoh, the museum has claimed the empty shell and has made of it a public show. It is admitted as a privilege not to be called in question that a cat may look at a king, but this admission has always tacitly assumed a *live* king. Not many years ago "body-snatching," perpetrated by or for over-keen students of anatomy in the interests of their science, was reckoned one of the deadly sins. The lapse of how many generations is necessary between burial and exhumation to make what was a deadly sin a commendable discovery? Or what object is sufficient justification for disturbing the silence of the dead? Does the public exhibition of embalmed Pharaohs and queens, high

priests and priestesses conduce to the advance of science? Does it do more than spread the knowledge that the Pharaohs had noble bridges to their noses, and that there is no beauty in the dead? They have been photographed and they might now be given decent burial.

As I have dared to reflect on the propriety of exposing the dead of old to the irreverent gaze of the public, and lest "men of peace" count my so doing a *casus belli*, I will make a bid for a defensive alliance with the ladies. They are *all* "Things of Beauty" we know—for a time. Let us say, to be on the safe side, for a thousand years. But that time past, is there any excuse for destroying the cherished illusion of "a joy for ever" by treating any of them as the Royal Priestess of Amon, Princess Nessita-neb-Asher, has been treated? With dishevelled hair, and not only unadorned but undrest, she has been posed for her photograph, and her likeness offered for sale as if she were a professional beauty. Her photograph (Plate IV.) may speak for itself and bear me out in my charge that an indignity has been done sufficient to rouse righteous indignation. Poor princess! Let imagination be kind and clothe her. Being a priestess, her past good works, "which becometh women professing godliness," adorn her. She wants something, and fancy is free.

The foregoing digressive remarks, however, relate to modern history, and we must now go back again to where we were 3000 years ago, when Israel sighed by reason of the bondage. Whether the period of

Priestess of Amon, Princess Nessita-nēb-Asher.
Height 5 ft. 8 in.

the bondage lasted through a few reigns or many, the policy of the new king that knew not Joseph was to keep the Israelites under. For he noted with concern the large and increasing numbers of this people, and feared lest, in the event of a war, they should join the enemy and fight against Egypt and "get them up out of the land." He therefore sought to keep them in submission by setting taskmasters over them to afflict them with burdens and make them serve with rigour. But though their lives were made bitter with hard bondage, they multiplied and grew, until at last Pharaoh gave instructions to kill all the male children of the Hebrews as soon as they were born. This barbarous policy, however, appears to have been only partially carried out. Among those that were saved in the time of Ramses II. was Moses, who was found by Pharaoh's daughter where his mother had left him among the reeds. The princess had the whim to adopt the foundling, and he was consequently brought up in the atmosphere of the palace and educated as an Egyptian. But heredity proved stronger than environment, and at heart Moses remained a Hebrew. And so one day, after he had come to middle age, he was so roused by the sight of one of his people being roughly handled that he slew the Egyptian who was ill-using him. This act of violence brought about a total change in his life. Finding that an account of it had reached Pharaoh's ears, Moses thought it prudent to leave; and so he fled into the land of Midian in Arabia, possibly by the very route that he afterwards directed the Israelites to follow in their Exodus. In Midian

Moses found quarters with Jethro, the priest of Midian, whose daughter he subsequently married.

While Moses was feeding Jethro's flocks in the solitudes of Sinai upon the Mount of Horeb in Midian, he was inspired with the idea of releasing his brethren from the bondage of Egypt. And it came to pass that the king of Egypt died, and the news reached Moses that Pharaoh Ramses was dead and those that sought his life. Then he took leave of his father-in-law Jethro to return to his brethren in Egypt, and to see whether they were yet alive. And there came into the desert to meet the returning exile his elder brother Aaron, to whom, as they continued their journey together, Moses told all his spirit-movings and hopes concerning the delivery of the Israelites from their state of slavery.

And Moses and Aaron gathered together all the elders of Israel; and Aaron, who had the gift of eloquence, talked to them of their delivery out of the land of Egypt, of their being made free men, and of their entry into a good land and a large, into a land flowing with milk and honey, where the oppression of the taskmaster would be no more known. And the people heard and believed in the hope held out to them.

But Pharaoh had yet to be reckoned with. The Pharaoh who now sat on the throne in succession to Ramses II. was Meneptah. His Court was at Zoan according to the witness of the Psalmist (Ps. lxxviii. 12). "Marvellous things did he in the sight of their fathers, in the land of Egypt, in the field of Zoan." Zoan or Tanis, as has already been stated, was where

Sân el Hagar now is, a village about twenty miles north of Tel el Kebir. It had been used by the shepherd kings as a capital, but was destroyed by Amosis when he drove them out. The town was afterwards restored and became a residence of the Pharaoh, so that, in the reign of Ramses II., as we learn from the hieroglyphics, it was celebrated for its beauty, for the fertility of its fields, and for the abundance of both wild birds and fish. "He rejoices who has settled there," so the hieroglyphics tell us. This cannot be said of it now, except from the point of view of water-fowl and fish. It is a place to be avoided, or only visited when duty or an interest in its past history takes one there.

To the Court at Zoan, then, Moses and Aaron made their way and obtained an audience of Pharaoh, to whom they gave their message—"Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Let my people go, that they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness." But the king would not let them go, as he knew not the God of Israel nor his right to command *Him*, the Pharaoh of Egypt. He showed his bad humour and resentment at having such a demand made by increasing the severity of the oppression.

The demand to hold a feast in the wilderness implied a return to Egypt once the ceremony accomplished. But it seems that Pharaoh suspected that more was intended, for, after the plague of flies had been too much for him, he suggested that the sacrifice, which the Israelites wished to hold, should be held in Egypt. But to this suggestion Moses objected that, as their sacrifice was, in the eyes of

the Egyptians, an abominable ceremony, the Israelites would be stoned were they to do as Pharaoh directed. Again, when the king's determination not to let them go was shaken by the discipline of more plagues, he asks—"Who are they that shall go?" And Moses made answer—"We will go with our young and our old, with our sons and with our daughters, with our flocks and with our herds." But this was more than Pharaoh could stand; he would let the men go, but the children and the flocks he would keep as security for their return. Later, after the plague of darkness, he was ready to let the children also go, and to satisfy himself with the flocks and herds alone as security. But Moses carried the matter with a high hand, and would abate none of his demand; for he was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and in the sight of the people, and there was none of the attitude of servitude about him when he stood, an old man of eighty years, before Pharaoh; though we are told later that "the man Moses was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth" (Numbers xii. 3). In a footnote to Mariette's *Outlines of Ancient Egyptian History*, Miss Brodrick gives Pharaoh a bad character: he is said to have been a great coward and very cruel, a man, according to Lénormant, whose whole mind turned upon sorcery and magic, with nothing of the soldier or administrator in him.

Of him also we learn from a papyrus in the Berlin Museum that he lost a son by a very sudden death; perhaps a reference to the death of the first-born on

that night when there rose a great cry in Egypt : for there was not a house where there was not one dead. This awful night decided Pharaoh. Without waiting for the morning, he sent for Moses and Aaron, and told them to go serve the Lord, as they had said, and to take their flocks and herds and be gone. And the Egyptians in terror urged them to hasten their departure, and lent them jewellery and raiment for their festival in the desert, doubtless assuming as Pharaoh assumed, or persuaded himself to believe, that they would return after they had held their feast. But the Hebrews, being otherwise intentioned, made the most of their opportunity and spoiled the Egyptians.

Many theories have been advanced concerning the plagues that, according to the Bible narrative, were the immediate compelling cause of Pharaoh's consent to the Israelites' demand. The extravagances of imagination that have hung themselves upon this peg are too outrageous to be worth repeating. But the last and perhaps the least extravagant conception of the plagues is that given by Professor Sayce in *The Early History of the Hebrews*. He points out that frogs, lice, flies, cattle-plague, Nile boils, hail, locusts, sand-storms, and cholera are plagues which have been experienced in a comparatively mild form by all who have had any real acquaintance with Egypt of late years during the British occupation. His own view is thus expressed—"There was nothing, consequently, in the plagues themselves that was either super-natural or contra-natural. They were all characteristic of Egypt, and of Egypt alone. They were signs and wonders, not because they introduced new and

unknown forces into the life of the Egyptians, but because the diseases and plagues, already known to the country, were intensified in action and crowded into a short space of time." If Professor Sayce knew India as well as he knows Egypt, he would not say that these plagues were characteristic of Egypt *alone*. India's present representatives of the plagues leave Egypt nowhere in the competition. Snakes, frogs, lice, flies, cattle-plague, boils, hail, sand-storms, and cholera are at home in India, and for my sins I can certify that they make themselves at home. Rivers that turn red in flood are on a larger scale, and sand-storms are more dense in India than in Egypt. But it is difficult to imagine a dust-storm so dense as to produce the darkness required by the Bible narrative, or to understand how cholera, looked on as a purely natural cause, could account for the death of the first-born in one night. But what cannot be accepted in any wise is the suggestion that the annual phenomenon of the Nile flood could be looked upon as a *plague*. The "red water" (as it is called by the natives, though the colour would be more correctly described as deep chocolate) arrives in Egypt annually in August and September, and is highly valued for its fertilizing properties by all landowners. A traveller in Egypt gives an account of a festival in honour of the rise of the flood in A.D. 1047, and describes how crowds bathed in the turbid waters of the flood in the belief that the water of their sacred river had, at the time of the full rise, virtue to cure the sick, to strengthen the young and weak, and to make the barren woman a joyful mother of children. If a thousand years ago

the red flood water was looked upon as a blessing, it is a thing inconceivable that 3000 years ago the Egyptians, after their experience of seven years' famine and seven years' plenty, if they had had no other experience, should have been so unobservant as not to reckon the red water of the flood a blessing too. This suggestion then must be rejected as the explanation of the plague of water being turned into blood so that the fish died and the people could not drink of it. "Red" Nile water has no harmful effect on fish, nor on those that drink it.

Besides the effect of the plagues there were other events, as we learn from the hieroglyphics, which must have had an influence in determining the result of Moses' prolonged contest with Pharaoh, and have encouraged the former to adopt a bold attitude, and to bear himself more as a dictator of terms than as a suppliant for favours. At this time of the Exodus, estimated to be about 1277 B.C., Pharaoh Meneptah had his attention distracted by an invasion of the Mediterranean nations, which threatened the stability of his throne. Egypt was assailed by a great confederacy of Libyan tribes who had allied themselves with the people of the north. The invaders were defeated eventually in the decisive battle of Prosopis; but it is not unlikely, that in consequence of these troubles, the garrisons along the eastern borders were depleted or removed for the time being to meet threatened dangers elsewhere. Such a condition of things would have given the Hebrews a favourable opportunity for effecting their flight.

The Israelites are now started on their Exodus, and we must go with them. They numbered about 600,000 on foot that were men, besides children. "A mixed multitude" also went with them, and a very large number of cattle. And with them were carried the bones of Joseph for burial in Canaan. After hope long deferred the signal for departure came at last so hurriedly and unexpectedly that the Israelites had no time to prepare food. "They baked unleavened cakes of the dough which they brought forth out of Egypt, for it was not leavened; because they were thrust out of Egypt and could not tarry, neither had they prepared for themselves any victual." In after years, in commemoration of this event, the Israelites kept the feast of the Passover with ceremonials elaborated from pre-Exodus rites and festivals founded on the ancient connection between a sacrifice and a covenant.

The first stage of the Israelites' march was from Rameses to Succoth. It is not known exactly where Rameses was, but it must have been somewhere to the north or west of Pithom. It was probably near Tel el Kebir, where Lord Wolseley fought and defeated the Arabist insurgents in 1882.

The first station, Succoth, was probably at or near Kassassine, and must have signified a district, not a city, as so large a crowd as the Israelites were could not have found room in a city, but would have required a camping-ground of large extent; and this the high desert lands bordering the Wadi Tumilât would have afforded. M. Naville gives satisfactory philological reasons for considering Succoth (the

Hebrew for "tents") as the equivalent of Thukut, a name which appears repeatedly in papyri of the nineteenth dynasty, in which the Exodus took place. From the papyri we get very important information concerning this district of Succoth. The name occurs in such a connection as to signify a borderland inhabited by foreigners. In these old records the name denotes a district including the lakes of Pithom of Menepthes, which is of Thukut; and it is hence clear that, before becoming the civil home of the capital, Thukut designated a district containing Pithom, which was the religious name of the city, as Pi-Beseth was the religious name of Bubastis. We further learn that the district of Succoth contained what is called in Egyptian "segaïr." The word means a wall or an enclosure of some kind, which was either a means of defence, a wall destined to prevent people passing from the desert towards Egypt, or perhaps an enclosure for the cattle of the king, which grazed in the neighbourhood.

At Succoth the Israelites were still within the line of fortifications which guarded Egypt on the east, known to the Semitic people as the "Shur" or Wall. On this line was the khetem, or stronghold of Zar, already referred to as probably being at or near the site of the modern Kantarah. Past this stronghold lay the route to Canaan *viâ* Pelusium, along the coast of the Mediterranean to Gaza and the other cities of the Philistines. This is "the way of the land of the Philistines," which was the usual and shortest route to Palestine, and the route that was probably followed by Jacob's sons and family when they first came to

Egypt. Being the regular route, it was guarded at intervals by military posts. Before the opening of the Suez Canal, and even since, the Bedawîn of our own day make use of this route.

The Israelites then had only to follow the Tumilât valley and skirt the northern shore of the gulf that formed the extreme north end of the Red Sea, a short distance to the east of Pithom, and so reach the Palestine road across the desert without having any sea to cross. This they attempted to do, and, leaving Succoth, they followed this route as far as Etham in the edge of the wilderness, where they encamped.

To be sure of our ground as we go, we must now determine where Etham was. Brugsch identifies "Etham" with "Khetem," and considers that the stronghold of Zar or some other on the frontier is referred to. I have already had occasion to mention the papyrus which records that the tribes of the Shasu of the land of Atuma were allowed to pass the stronghold of King Meneptah of Succoth to go to the lakes of Pithom. Now M. Naville considers that the land called in the papyri "Atuma" is the same as the region of Etham. It was inhabited by Shasu nomads or gypsies; and, as it provided insufficient nourishment for their cattle, they were obliged to ask to be admitted to the good pastures which had been occupied by the Israelites. Etham, in Numbers xxxiii. 6, is said to be in the edge of the wilderness, and verse 8 says that, after passing through the midst of the sea, the Israelites went three days' journey in the wilderness of Etham. It is, therefore, concluded that Etham is the same as Atuma, and

that it was the desert which began near Lake Timsah, and extended east and south of it.

During these marches it is related that the Lord went before the Israelites by day in a pillar of cloud to lead them the way, and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light. With reference to this Linant relates that in modern times the great caravan, which every year sets out from Cairo to Mecca, has a conductor on a camel leading the way. Day and night, whatever the weather is, he remains without any covering naked to the waist. With him march men with large torches, which are kept alight during the night and illuminate the column of smoke above them, so that it appears a pillar of fire. During the day, when the head of the caravan is difficult to see on account of intervening hills and mounds of sand, the torches are kept burning, so that, instead of the light which served during the night, a column of smoke rising vertically on calm days might serve as a guide to the straggling caravan from afar, and indicate the time and place of a halt.

So was it also arranged in after days when the tabernacle was complete—"the cloud covered it by day, and the appearance of fire by night," and Israel journeyed or halted according as the cloud was "taken up" from the tabernacle or abode upon it.

Meantime, while the Israelites have been marching from Rameses to the edge of the desert of Etham, it was told the king of Egypt that the people fled. Being persuaded now, if he had not been so before,

that they were leaving Egypt, with the spoils of the Egyptians upon them, with no intention of returning, and realizing that he was on the point of losing a whole nation of slaves, he decided to pursue after them. It is but reasonable to suppose that he immediately took steps to oppose their escape, either by despatching a flying column from Zoan to head the fugitives on their march, or by sending orders to the garrisons along the road to Palestine to bar their way. And so, arrived at Etham, and finding his further progress opposed by Pharaoh's troops, and fearing lest the people repent when they see war and return to Egypt, Moses issued orders for a counter-march, fixing the next encampment by definite instructions before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea over against Baal-zephon. And thus it came to pass that God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near; but God led the people about through the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea.

Here the narrative would have been less misleading had the English version adopted the correct translation for the words that have been rendered "Red Sea." The Hebrew words that have been so translated are "Yam Sûph," the Sea of Sûph. And this is an important point, for we have now need of all our landmarks. Up to "the edge of the desert of Etham" there can be little doubt as to the route followed. But the question now is, when the Israelites countermarched and assumed a new direction, was it towards the north or the south? The recent theory of M. Naville's supposes that the direction was southwards

towards Suez and the modern Red Sea; while the earlier theory of Brugsch Bey assumes that the direction was northwards towards Port Said or Pelusium and the Mediterranean Sea. In September 1874, Brugsch Bey delivered in London a discourse on "The Exodus and the Egyptian Monuments" to the International Congress of Orientalists. Pithom had not then been identified. He considered that Yam Sûph signified the Sea of Reeds, and assumed that Raamses was the same town as Tanis, and that Pithom was half-way between Tanis and Pelusium; so that he makes a false start for want of the evidence that has since been obtained. The Yam Sûph, literally translated as the Sea of Reeds, might be supposed to be any body of water that favoured the growth of reeds, as "Mediterranean Sea" might be taken to signify any large expanse of water that was surrounded by land, and "Mesopotamia" any country that was surrounded by water. We will discuss the proper signification of Yam Sûph after considering Brugsch Bey's theory.

Notwithstanding his false start, Brugsch Bey eventually lands the Israelites at "Khetem" near Kantarah, and identifies the ruins of Tel Difinneh as the remains of the twin towers of Khetem which stood on either side of the Pelusiac branch with a bridge between them. It is from this point that he leads the Israelites northwards, while M. Naville leads them southwards.

There is, to my mind, no doubt that M. Naville's theory is more in agreement with the Bible narrative, and as much, if not more, with the evidence of the monuments and with probability than is Brugsch Bey's. One cannot help thinking that a will-o'-the

wisp enticed Brugsch Bey to its marshy home in the Sirbonian bog. His classical studies must have suggested how suitable a place it was for Pharaoh's horsemen to flounder in, for this is what Diodorus tells us of it—

"On the eastern side, Egypt is protected in part by the Nile, in part by the desert and marshy plains known under the name of Gulfs (or Pits, τὰ βάραθρα). For between Cœle-Syria and Egypt there is a lake, of very narrow width, but of a wonderful depth and extending in length about 200 stradia (20 geog. miles), which is called Sirbonis; and it exposes the traveller approaching it unawares to unforeseen dangers. For its basin being very narrow like a riband and surrounded on all sides by great banks of sand, when south winds blow for some time, a quantity of sand is drifted over it. This sand hides the sheet of water from the sight, and confuses the appearance of the lake with the dry land, so that they are indistinguishable. From which cause many *have been swallowed up with their whole armies* through unacquaintance with the nature of the spot and through having mistaken the road. For, as the traveller advances, gradually the sand gives way under his feet, and, as if of malignant purpose, deceives those who have ventured on it, till at length, suspecting what is about to happen, they try to help themselves when there is no longer any means of escaping safe. For a man drawn in by the swamp can neither swim, the movements of his body being hampered by the mud, nor can he get out, there being no solid support to raise himself on. The water and sand being so mixed that the nature of

both is changed, the place can neither be forded nor crossed in boats. Thus, those who are caught in these places are drawn to the bottom of the abyss, having no resource to help themselves, as the banks of sand sink with them. Such is the nature of these plains, with which the name of Gulfs (βάραθρα) agrees perfectly."

And thus, there being historical testimony to the convenient capabilities of the spot for swallowing up whole armies, the opportunity of satisfactorily disposing of Pharaoh's host was not to be thrown away. So Brugsch Bey leads the Israelites out to the north along the "narrow tongue of land, bounded on the one side by the Mediterranean, on the other by the lagoon of weeds." He then goes on to say—"After the Hebrews, marching on foot, had cleared the flats which extend between the Mediterranean Sea and the lake Sirbonis, a great wave took by surprise the Egyptian cavalry and the captains of the war chariots who pursued the Hebrews." The discourse does not explain what sea it was that the Israelites crossed.

Now let us consider whether there is any guide-post pointing in the direction taken by M. Naville towards the south. The narrative says—"but God led the people about through the way of the wilderness of the Yam Sûph." The authority for rendering Yam Sûph "the Red Sea" does not go back beyond the Septuagint translators. With them the "Red Sea" denoted the whole of the sea which washed the coasts of Arabia, that is, the Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf, and modern Red Sea with its Gulfs of Suez and

Akabah. But with the Hebrew writers the Yam Sûph, or Sea of Sûph, meant the Gulf of Akabah only. There are other instances in the Bible where Yam Sûph has been translated "Red Sea," and where it is evident that the Gulf of Akabah was meant. In 1 Kings ix. 26 it is written—"And king Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom." And so also in Numbers xxi. 4—"And they journeyed from mount Hor by the way of the Red Sea, to compass the land of Edom." And again Deut. i. 1—"These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel on this side Jordan in the wilderness, in the plain over against the Red Sea, between Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Dizahab."

It is, moreover, plain that "the sea" which the Israelites crossed at the Egyptian frontier and the Yam Sûph, which they subsequently reached, could not have been one and the same. So the Bible passage properly translated in the terms of our modern maps would read—"But God led the people about through the way of the wilderness of the Gulf of Akabah."

The counter-march and the adoption of a new route of egress from the land of Egypt is then made quite intelligible. The first intention was to march by the usual caravan route to Canaan from Succoth *viâ* khetem of Zar (Kantarah) to el Areesh and thence northwards, along the way used for the ordinary traffic between Egypt and Palestine; but finding the way barred by hostile forces on the frontier, and being only a nation of shepherds with the coward hearts

that oppression breeds, the Israelites turned back to take the road of fugitives through the way of the wilderness of the Gulf of Akabah, a way already known to Moses, for he had followed it on his way to Midian when a fugitive from the former Pharaoh. Probably, as this route was rarely used, and was not a caravan route, it was little guarded. We have contemporaneous evidence that there were two ways by which the territory of Egypt could be left. In a letter written during the reign of the king who succeeded the Pharaoh of the Exodus, a report is made of a failure to catch two slaves who had fled from their master. The letter runs thus—

"I set out from the hall of the royal palace on the 9th day of the month Epiphi, in the evening, after the two servants. I arrived at the fortress of Thuku on the 10th of Epiphi. I was informed that the men had resolved to take their way towards the south. On the 12th I reached the fortress. There I was informed that grooms who had come from the neighbourhood . . . [had reported] that the fugitives had already passed the wall to the north of the Migdol of King Seti Meneptah."

These slaves were on the very route of the Exodus: Thuku or Succoth, Migdol, and the great wall or "Shur." Apparently, then, these slaves escaped by the north exit, where the Israelites turned back to make for the south exit.

To reach the site indicated for the next encampment the Israelites passed between Pithom and the gulf of the sea on the east of it; and, as a day's march cannot vary outside certain limits, the situation

of the encampment can be conjectured with very close approximation to the truth, assuming that we are right in supposing the new direction of the march to have been southwards. Unfortunately the evidence as to the position of the places named for the night's encamping ground is indefinite, and the determination of them is more or less conjectural. A future lucky find may give us certainty.

One of the three places named was Migdol. This is a common name signifying fort or tower. The particular Migdol of the Israelites' encampment was probably at the present Serapeum. There, on a spot between the modern Lake Timsah and the Bitter Lakes, was a narrow and shallow arm of the Red Sea. As, at this point, the sea was liable to be driven back under the influence of the east wind, it is not unlikely that Moses may have taken advantage of the passage thus afforded on his former journeys to and from the land of Midian, when, as a fugitive, he had to avoid the frontier forts. At any rate he would have heard of the effect sometimes produced, and have become acquainted with the point of passage and its peculiarities. That there was one spot more than others particularly favourable for crossing because of the well-known effect of the wind, is indicated by the definite way in which the encamping ground was described in the marching orders. It was because there was occasionally a dry way produced at this point, that the Pharaohs were obliged to maintain a fort or Migdol there, so as to guard the passage and prevent the Asiatics of the desert from using this temporary gate to enter Egypt to steal cattle and to plunder

the fertile land which was round Pithom. It must, however, be remembered that this is conjecture, and has not the certainty that the previous identifications have. We conjecture then that Migdol was a fort commanding the ford, and was where, or near to where, the present Serapeum is.

About Baal-zephon, which faced the encampment on the opposite side of the sea, we know nothing more than that it is not an Egyptian name. As the desert on the east of the Red Sea was occupied by Asiatic nomads of Semitic race, they may have had somewhere on the shore opposite to Egypt a sanctuary dedicated to their god Baal-zephon.

About Pi-hahiroth also we know little. M. Naville tells us that a great Ptolemaic tablet, which was discovered in the excavations at Pithom, mentions another locality of the same name, Pi-Kerehet, the house of the serpent. The inscription shows that it was a temple of Osiris, or what the Greeks called a Serapeum. The god was worshipped there under the form of a serpent. Considering, as before in the case of Succoth, not the sense of the word but its sound, Pi-Kerehet is not improbably the Pi-hahiroth of Scripture. If the identity is accepted, Pi-hahiroth is thus found to be a locality in the district of Succoth. As it was a Serapeum, it is important to note that the Itinerary of Antoninus mentions Serapiu as being eighteen miles from Ero. M. Naville believes Gebel Mariam to be Serapiu or Pi-Kerehet, and he remarks that its actual distance of fourteen miles from Ero agrees nearly with the Itinerary.

Though we do not know for certain where these

three places—Migdol, Pi-hahiroth, and Baal-zephon —were, the possible maximum length of a day's journey for a migrating host decides that the point of the crossing must have been between the Bitter Lakes and Lake Timsah, and that it was probably nearer the Lake Timsah end of the space which at present separates the two expanses of water.

The connected chain line of circles, shown on the accompanying map, indicates the lines of march which (according to M. Naville) there is not much question the Israelites followed. The doubtful part is the exact point at which the sea was crossed.

The Israelites, having reached their encampment at the edge of the sea, with Pi-hahiroth on the north-west, Migdol on the south-east, and Baal-zephon opposite across the water, are still on the wrong side of the ford. And in this spot, with the desert behind them, the sea in front of them, and more desert beyond the sea and on the south of them, Pharaoh's army overtook them and closed the fourth side. They were entangled in the land, the wilderness had shut them in.

Professor Sayce, however, thinks that the expression "the wilderness hath shut them in" must not be understood to apply to the place of the encampment, but to the point at which the counter-march took place. He considers that the king would ascribe the cause of the sudden and extraordinary change in the line of march to the Israelites' fear of crossing the desert which lay in front of them and formed a barrier to their exit from the land. But

it seems to me there are two serious objections to this interpretation; the first is the relation of the verse, in which the expression occurs, to both the preceding and succeeding verses, connecting it with the encamping ground and with the crossing of the sea. The verses run thus—"Speak unto the children of Israel, that they turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon: before it shall ye encamp by the sea. For Pharaoh will say of the children of Israel, They are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in. And I will harden Pharaoh's heart that he shall follow after them; and I will be honoured upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host; that the Egyptians may know that I am the Lord. And they did so." Still it may be argued in favour of Professor Sayce's opinion that the three verses quoted, taken as they stand, are the words of an order given at the place and time of the counter-march, and not an account of what happened afterwards put in the form of a Divine order with the reasons added to explain the order. So this first objection has little weight.

The second objection is that, if it was the desert that they were afraid to face, they would not have turned their backs on the desert to the east, over which the established caravan route ran, merely to face another desert on the south similar to the former so far as want of pasturage and fresh water was concerned. The sea could not help them, for it was salt, and they had no condensers in their camp equipment. The counter-march is, in my

opinion, better explained by the wish to avoid encountering the armed opposition which confronted the march, and which Moses was afraid might effect a change of mind in the fugitive nation and induce them to return to Egypt. This state of mind was actually produced as soon as Pharaoh overtook them in the camping-ground alongside the sea; for no sooner did the prospect of violence become imminent than the Israelites were ready to submit in their terror. And they murmured against Moses who had organized the flight, saying—"Is not this the word that we did tell thee in Egypt, saying, Let us alone that we may serve the Egyptians? For it had been better for us to serve the Egyptians than that we should die in the wilderness."

So afterwards did they murmur, when the spies from Canaan told of the giants against whom Moses wished to lead them—"Were it not better for us to return into Egypt? Let us make a captain, and let us return into Egypt."

But as the Israelites grumbled in their encampment by the Rea Sea, night came on, and an east wind sprang up and carried the smoke of the torches, which, contrary to custom, had been moved *behind* the camp of the Israelites, towards the camp of the Egyptians. Doubtless this change in the night's position of the torches was deliberately made with the object of forming a screen between the two camps, so that the Egyptians could not see what the Israelites were doing. The manœuvre was successful, for the column of smoke was a cloud and darkness to the Egyptians and gave light to the Hebrews, as the

wind carried the smoke towards the Egyptians and they could not see the light that shone out on the other side. Thus the Egyptians, seeing these smoke-clouds always rising from the same spot, did not suspect what was going on under cover of them.

The same strong wind which blew the smoke towards the camp of the Egyptians, made the sea dry land and divided the waters, so that the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground. "And the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left."

Now this expression has been probably misunderstood. The picture is drawn in some minds of the Israelites marching along a road with water standing vertically on their right and left, like solid walls of brickwork. But this is not likely to be the meaning, inasmuch as a natural cause for the creation of the dry passage is invoked by the Bible, and therefore it is unreasonable to expect anything but a natural effect. The more probable explanation of the expression is that, the strip of land laid dry being a comparatively narrow one, there were on each side of it expanses of water which served as walls to prevent any attack on the flanks of the fugitive host by the swift-moving chariots of the Egyptians, and also to screen the movement of crossing over from discovery by scouts before it was complete. Thus the Israelites had nothing to fear on the flanks, and had only to take precautions against any movement in their rear.

Lastly, the torch-bearers followed the column across to the other side, and the Egyptians then

detected the movement, which, as dawn was approaching, could not have been much longer concealed.

Whereupon the Egyptians, discovering that the Israelites had passed over, pursued, and went in after them to the midst of the sea, even all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots and his horsemen. And as the pursuit began, the day dawned, and, as so often happens about dawn in Egypt, the wind either lulled or changed, and the waters returned and covered the road by which the Israelites had passed over. The chariot-wheels sank in the wet sand and came off, so that the chariots drave heavily; the line of the ford was concealed by the returning waters, so that the chariots and horsemen, we may suppose, went astray in the deeper water on either side.

Looking back through the pillar of fire and of the cloud that concealed the rear-guard of the Israelites, there could be discerned by the growing light of the dawn a scene of frightful confusion, of chariots overturned and plunging horses, of a disheartened host fleeing from the face of Israel, with the waters mounting higher every moment, and confusion worse confounded, until the chariots and horsemen were covered, and all the host of Pharaoh that came into the sea: there remained not so much as one of them. The horse and his rider were thrown into the sea, and Israel saw the Egyptian dead cast up upon the seashore at their feet.

So Moses brought Israel out of Egypt, and they went out into the wilderness of Shur to the discipline

of a freer life, which was to convert them from a nation of craven-hearted slaves into a warlike people at whose crossing of the Jordan in later years the hearts of the kings of the Amorites and of the Canaanites melted for fear.

There is a verse in the Psalms which is responsible for the general belief that Pharaoh himself was drowned together with his army in the Red Sea. Psalm cxxxvi. verse 15, runs, "But overthrew (marg. shaked off) Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea." And so when, a few years ago, it was rumoured that the mummy of the Pharaoh of the Exodus had been discovered, it was objected that the mummy of this particular Pharaoh[1] could not have been found, as he was drowned in the Red Sea. This led to an examination of the sacred record, and it was remarked that the Book of Exodus does not say so, nor does any other account of the pursuit of the Israelites. And it must be remembered that the Book of Psalms is a book of poetry, and as such must be allowed latitude of expression for euphony's sake. "Pharaoh and his host" is a phrase probably signifying nothing more than Pharaoh's forces. If, for example, it were said that Napoleon and his army were destroyed at Waterloo, the statement, even if accepted as true, would not be understood to mean that Napoleon himself was destroyed as well as his army. It is not likely that

[1] It is, however, stated as a fact that Meneptah is the only Pharaoh of the great Theban dynasties of any importance whose mummy is still undiscovered. (Report 1897–1898 of Egypt Exploration Fund.)

Pharaoh himself joined in the pursuit of slaves, however important may have been their numbers, when, as has already been pointed out, he had to deal with an invasion of Libyan tribes, and a revolt of the people of the North.

Moreover, accepting Meneptah as the Pharaoh of the Exodus, it is probable that, if he had been drowned in the Red Sea, Ramses III. (who, after the interval of two short reigns, succeeded him) would have mentioned the fact when he was describing in hieroglyphics the state of the country during the preceding reigns. The Pharaohs, it is true, recorded only their triumphs, and never their defeats or disasters, but in this particular record, the king, with a not uncommon weakness, describes the evil times of the preceding reigns in order to magnify his own name as the saviour of the kingdom that had been well-nigh lost from weakness and misgovernment. Therefore, this being the nature of the record, such an event as the drowning in the Red Sea of an unsuccessful occupant of the throne, who reigned a short time before, might not improbably have been alluded to, unless the Egyptians looked upon the event in the way that the Hebrews did, as a triumph for the God of Israel, and therefore a defeat for the gods of Egypt.

The description thus referred to of the state of the country before the succession of Ramses III., as given in the "Great Harris Papyrus," contains the following, most of the self-laudatory passages being omitted—

"Hearken! I make known to you my glorious deeds, which I have performed as king of men.

"The people of Egypt lived in banishment abroad. Of those who lived in the interior of the land, none had any care for him. So passed away long years, until other times came. The land of Egypt belonged to princes from foreign parts. They slew one another, whether noble or mean.

"Other times came on afterwards during the years of scarcity. Arisu, a Phœnician, had raised himself among them to be a prince, and he compelled all the people to pay him tribute. Whatever any had gathered together, that his (*i. e.* the Phœnician's) companions robbed them of. Thus did they.

"The gods were treated like men. They went without the appointed sin-offerings in the temples."

Then the gods stepped in and put all things right by bringing Ramses III. to the throne. It is to be hoped he was grateful, and made up to them their arrears of sin-offerings, which was the least that he could be expected to do.

CHAPTER III

MODERN EVENTS IN THE LAND OF GOSHEN

Modern history has more to say of Egypt as a land of bondage, and can tell of another exodus from the country that was once the land of Goshen.

The picture of modern Egypt as a land of bondage, not for foreigners, but for its own people, is to be found painted in striking colours in Cameron's *Egypt in the Nineteenth Century*, where the culmination of the oppression of the people is thus summed up—

"Mehemet Ali, however, brought the new tyranny of Egypt to the refined perfection of a devilish art, and left no loophole of escape for any peasant from lifelong penal servitude. He, as it were, muzzled the ox that trod out the corn; he left nothing for the gleaners in the field; he swept away every threshing-floor without a thought for the sufferings of his victims." The Israelite settlers from a foreign land were not worse treated by the Pharaohs of the nineteenth dynasty than the native children of the soil were treated by the founder of the present one.

It is, however, not fair on Mehemet Ali to make this quotation without pointing out that the book

from which it is taken was written by one who belonged to the period of the English occupation, during which the fellah was, for the first time in history, reckoned to be a member of the family of mankind, and was no longer classified by the Government and the ruling castes as a beast of the field. Sir Charles Murray was Consul-General in Egypt during the time that Mehemet Ali was in power. Being a contemporary he compares the Egypt of Mehemet Ali with the Egypt that was before and not with the Egypt that came after; and though he admits misrule, oppression, and much else that was unworthy in a ruler, he concludes his memoir with the statement that Mehemet Ali "created a new era for Egypt; he raised a state sunk in unexampled misery into one of comparative happiness and prosperity." These two differing pictures of the same Egypt are painted from different points of view, and may both be true. Sir Charles Murray states that the prosperity was comparative, and uses the term to describe a condition of society which had just emerged from "unexampled misery." The two pictures, however, are in perfect agreement in representing Egypt as a veritable land of bondage.

But Mehemet Ali and his genius for oppression were not responsible for the modern Exodus, though he prepared the way for it by an immigration which he had encouraged. It was at the beginning of this century that it occurred to him to introduce the manufacture of silk into Egypt. With this end in view, he planted mulberry trees in the Wadi Tumilât, and held out inducements to Syrians of Damascus,

and Bedawîn Arabs of the Nejd to come and settle there. He promised them fertile pasture lands, and exemption from taxation and from liability to serve in the army. The new settlers, thus attracted, took up their abode in the Wadi, and there occupied themselves with the cultivation of the mulberry trees, the care of the silkworms, and the spinning of the silk. But Mehemet Ali died, and there rose up Abbas, the new ruler of Egypt. He did not confirm to the Wadi settlers the privileges granted by his predecessor, but attempted to impose upon them the same burdens of taxation and conscription to which the rest of Egypt was subjected. The Bedawîn settlers naturally objected that it was not so in the bond, but Abbas's heart was hardened, and he would not listen to their protest. Consequently, one night, the whole settlement moved off with their flocks and their herds, leaving the houses standing open and deserted. They returned to their kinsfolk in the East, whence they had come, and the Wadi Tumilât was abandoned to desolation.

Later, in 1861, the Suez Canal Company bought the Wadi for about £74,000, and returned it to the Egyptian Government in 1866 in consideration of a payment of over £300,000,[1] after constructing the Ismailiyah Canal along one side of the valley at such a high level that the land has since been ruined by the infiltration from it.

The natural features of the country traversed by the Israelites in their Exodus have been added to

[1] *Egypt in the Nineteenth Century*, Cameron.

by the construction of the Suez Canal, which has re-united the Bitter Lakes and Lake Timsah, and has substituted a deeper and narrower waterway for the shallow and broader sheet of the Israelites' point of crossing. The Canal was opened in 1869. It is connected with the Nile at Cairo by the Ismailiyah Canal just mentioned, which is not only a navigable channel, but is also the means by which the towns of Suez and Port Said are supplied with fresh water. To reclaim the lands ruined by infiltration from the Ismailiyah Canal, a drain has been dug along the valley discharging into Lake Timsah. As a part of the drainage project, a pumping-station has been set up at Kassassine. This station is provided with electric light, so that close by where the pillar of fire stood to mark for the migrating Hebrews the place for the night's halt in Succoth, and whence the column of smoke moved forward on the next day as the signal to march on, there now is seen the clear electric light produced by a rotating dynamo, and the pillar of smoke which rises from two fifty-horse-power engines.

Modern times have added an exciting chapter to the history of the valley along which the Exodus took place. In 1882 an English army was landed at Ismailiyah to suppress the insurrection under Arabi and to restore the authority of the Khedive. The insurgent army resisted the English troops first at Tel el Maskhuta on August 24, and at Kassassine a few days later. Being driven back, the Egyptians

made their final stand at Tel el Kebir. After a night's march the Britishers stormed the enemy's lines, and completely routed them, pursuing them to Zagazig. Arrived there, two officers and half-a-dozen troopers, who had outridden the rest, entered the station and took possession of five trains full of the enemy, who threw away their arms, left the cars, and ran off as quickly as possible. One engine-driver was shot as he was preparing to start; the rest surrendered their seven locomotives.

While the pursuit to Zagazig was being carried on, the cavalry division started for Cairo, following the Ismailiyah Canal, and bivouacked at Bilbeis. Next day the division reached Cairo at 4.45 p.m., having marched sixty-five miles in two days. At Abbasiyah there were 6000 to 7000 of the enemy, who surrendered promptly on being summoned to do so. Captain Watson, R.E., with two squadrons of Dragoon Guards and a detachment of mounted infantry, then went to the citadel, and demanded its surrender. The key was given up, the small English force marched in, and the Egyptian garrison, 4000 strong, laid down their arms and marched out. The fort of Mokattam Hill also surrendered, and the officer in charge delivered up the keys on a mere message being sent him.

And so Cairo was taken possession of by the British troops, and the English occupation of Egypt began.

"And the Lord shall smite Egypt: he shall smite and heal it. In that day shall Israel be the third

with Egypt and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land." So prophesied Isaiah.

The healing process was begun at once after the smiting and the *rôle* of Israel was taken by England, a blessing in the midst of the land and its liberator from the bondage of misrule and oppression.

THE END

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THE FAYÛM AND LAKE MŒRIS

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WITH PREFATORY NOTE

BY

COL. SIR COLIN SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, K.C.M.G., C.S.I.,
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Illustrated by the Author's Photographs, Diagrams, and a Recent Map of the Fayûm.

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BY
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